

1st Summer School Borderlands Studies in East Central Europe and the Black Sea Region

Analysis of the Conflicts and Peacebuilding Approaches in the Post-Soviet Space

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“Analysis of Conflict and Peacebuilding Approaches in the Post-Soviet Space”

Focus of the lecture

What is peacebuilding?

- “Peacebuilding” vs. “миротворчество” vs. “миростроительство”
- Concepts and history

Conflict analysis as a base for peacebuilding

- Conflict dynamics and resolution attempts in the post-Soviet space

Mediation and dialogue: the “track model”

- Actors of mediation? Aims? Prospects and Limits?
- What is “people’s diplomacy”?
- Introduction to the concept of diapraxis.

Case study Ukraine

- The “Women Initiatives for Peace in Donbass (WIPD)”

«Peacebuilding...»

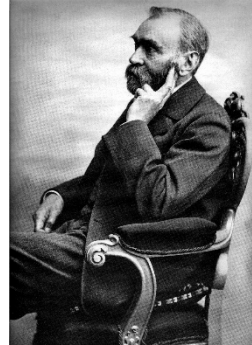
«Миротворчество»

«Миростроение»

«Миротворчество...»

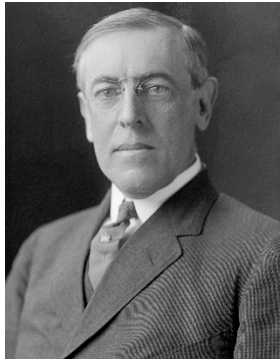
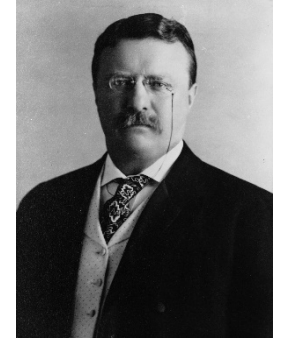


«Миротворец...»



Альфред Нобель

Президент США Теодор Рузвельт



Президент США Вудро Вильсон

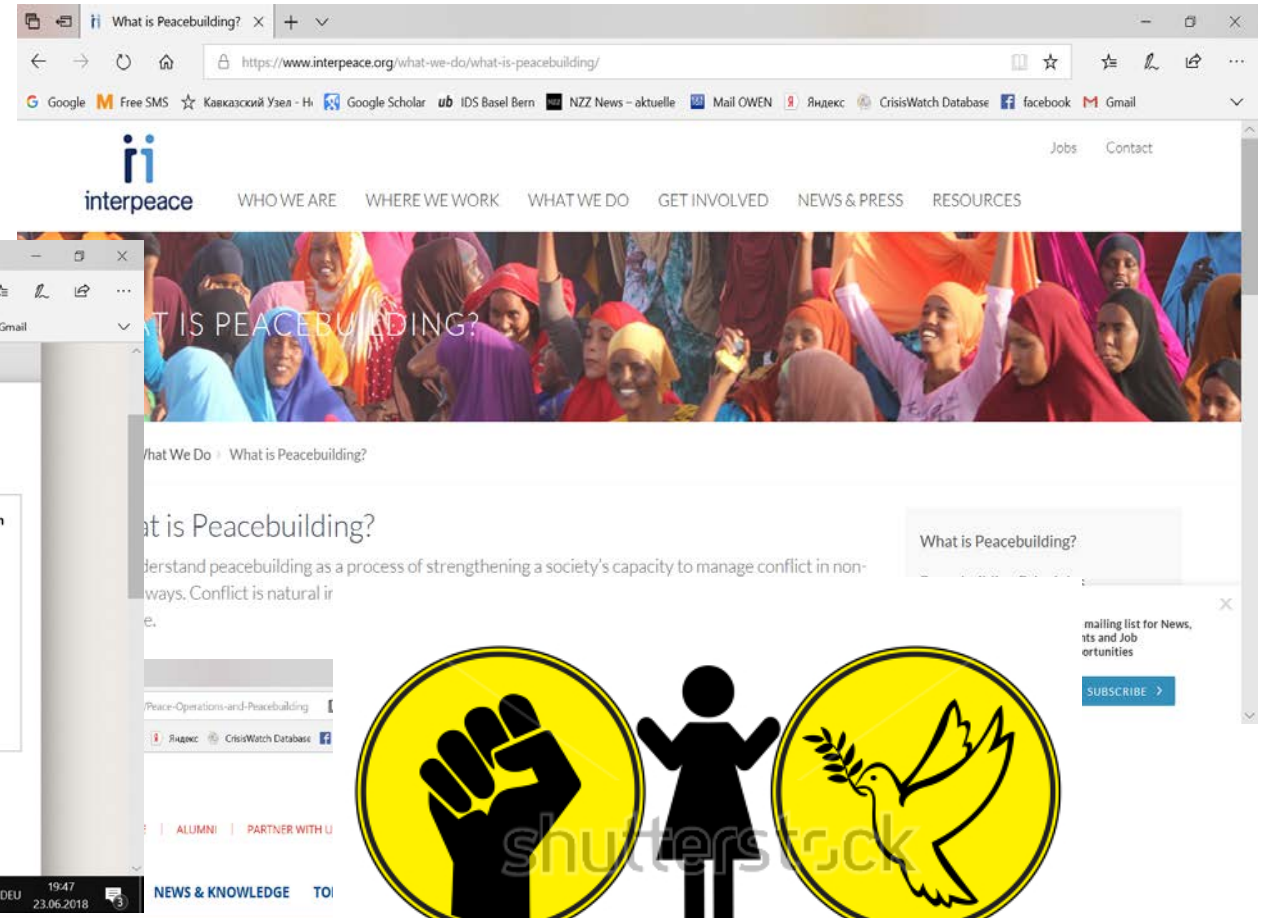
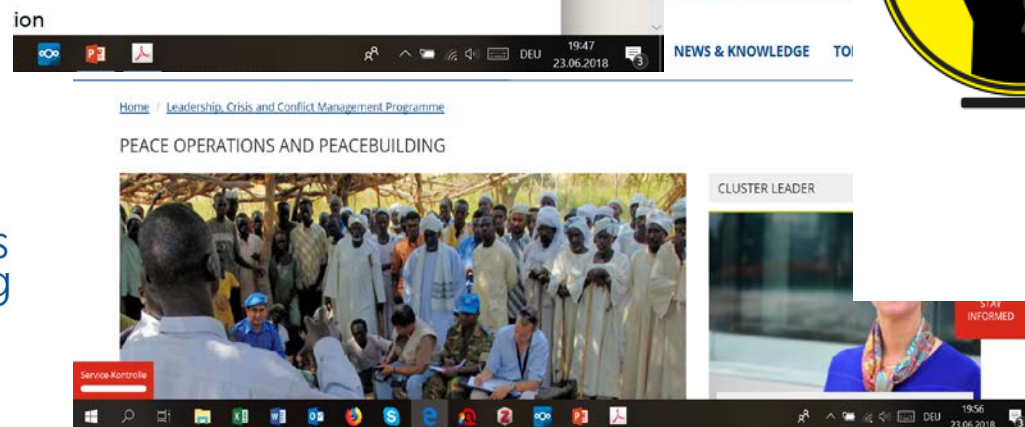
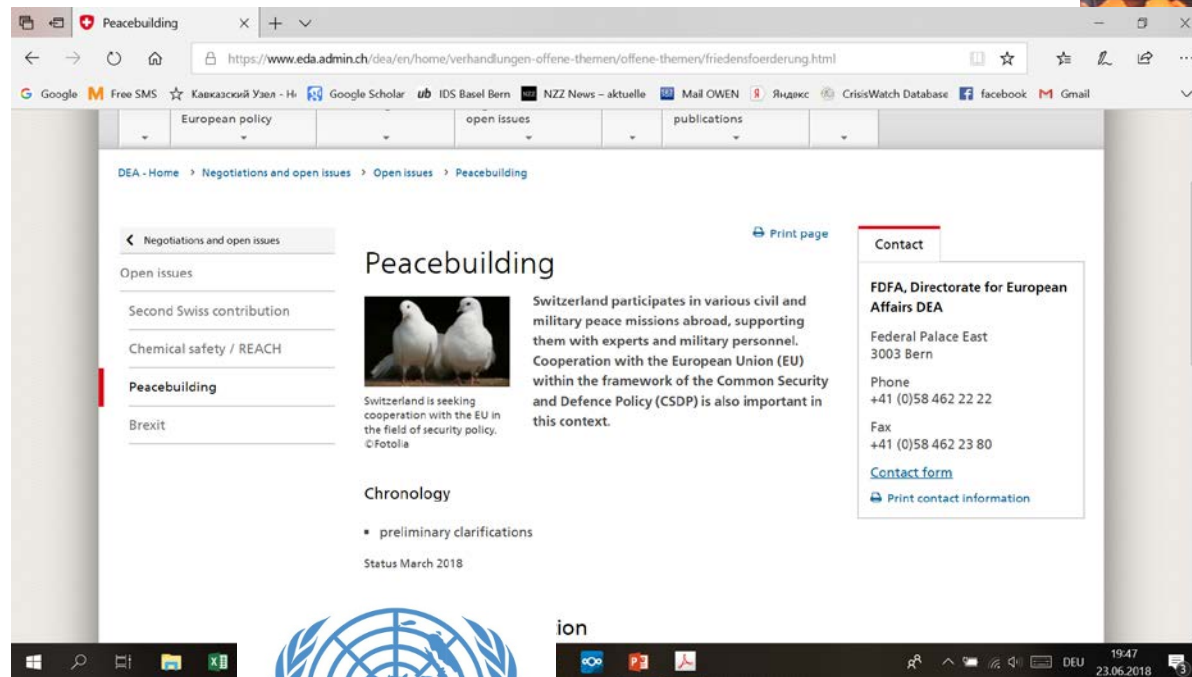


Королева Вильгельмина

«Peacekeeping...»



«Peacebuilding...»



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«Peacebuilding...»



*“We understand peacebuilding as a process of **strengthening a society’s capacity** to manage conflict in non-violent ways. Conflict is natural in society and can lead to positive change. However, it can also descend into violence”*

«Peacebuilding...»



*“**Inclusive** Peacebuilding: The root of many conflicts across the world can be traced to exclusion. We believe that by working to lessen the distance that can exist between the state and wider society a durable peace can be built”.*

*“We understand peacebuilding as a process of **strengthening a society’s capacity** to manage conflict in non-violent ways. Conflict is natural in society and can lead to positive change. However, it can also descend into violence”*

«Peacebuilding...»



Schweizerische Friedensstiftung
Fondation suisse pour la paix
Fondazione svizzera per la pace
Swiss Peace Foundation

Topics:

- Dealing with the past
- Statehood and conflict
- Mediation (inclusivity of actors)
- Comprehensive approach

«Миростроительство...»

«**Миростроительство** — деятельность (...) для восстановления основ мира. Оно включает поддержку действий и институтов, содействующих укреплению мира, заключение соглашений и организацию взаимодействия между бывшими врагами, и.т.д.».

(source: Kuteynikov, Aleksandr and Alesya Maslyak.: *Ot stroitel'stva mira k gosudarstvostroitel'nosti* ("From building peace to statebuilding"), 2013)

«Миростроительство...»

Основными *целями* миростроительства являются:

- 1) предотвращение возобновления открытого насилия и **поддержание негативного мира**, при котором насилие удалось прекратить, но глубинные и структурные причины конфликта остаются не устранены
- 2) создание путем содействия примирению сторон конфликта условий для установления **позитивного или устойчивого мира** и устранения его коренных причин.

В основные *задачи* миростроительства включается:

- 1) генерация общественной поддержки для мирного соглашения
- 2) разоружение, демобилизация комбатантов
- 3) помощь беженцам и внутренне перемещенным лицам
- 4) проведение или контроль над проведением выборов
- 5) экономическое восстановление
- 6) достижение социального примирения между группами

(source: ibid)

«Peacebuilding...»: evolution of the concept

“Peace research” as a discipline established and institutionalised after WWII:

- 1959: Creation of PRIO (Peace Research Institute of Oslo)
- 1966: Creation of SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute)

«Peacebuilding...»: evolution of the concept

“Peace research” as a discipline established and institutionalised after WWII:

- 1959: Creation of PRIO (Peace Research Institute of Oslo)
- 1966: Creation of SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute)

“Peace researchers”:

- Kenneth Boulding: *Conflict and Defense: a General Theory*, 1962
- Johan Galtung: *Essays in peace research*, 1975
- Ruth Sivard: *World and Social Expenditures*, 1982

«Peacebuilding...»: evolution of the concept

Johan Galtung: *Essays on Peace Research*, 1975:

“Negative peace” as an *“absence of organised violence between such major human groups as nations, but also between racial and ethnic groups”*;

“Positive peace” as a *“pattern of cooperation and integration between major human groups”*;

“positive peacebuilding” as a comprehensive concept addressing the root causes of the conflict; non-statist approach.

...evolution of the practice

“UN Agenda for Peace”, 1992 (Boutros Boutros-Ghali)

- Preventive diplomacy: *“to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur”*;
- Peace-making: *“to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through peaceful means”*
- Peace-keeping: *“deployment of a UN presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned”*;
- Peacebuilding: *“structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict”*



Forty-seventh session

An Agenda for Peace

Preventive diplomacy,
peacemaking and peace-keeping

Report of the Secretary-General
pursuant to the statement
adopted by the Summit Meeting of
the Security Council on 31 January 1992

Introduction

1. In its statement of 31 January 1992, adopted at the conclusion of the first meeting held by the Security Council at the level of Heads of State and Government, I was invited to prepare, for circulation to the Members of the United Nations by 1 July 1992, an "analysis and recommendations on ways of strengthening and making more efficient within the framework and provisions of the Charter the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, for peacemaking and for peace-keeping."/

2. The United Nations is a gathering of sovereign States and what it can do depends on the common ground that they create between them. The adversarial decades of the cold war made the original promise of the Organization impossible to fulfil. The January 1992 Summit therefore represented an unprecedented recommitment, at the highest political level, to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter.

3. In these past months a conviction has grown, among nations large and small, that an opportunity has been regained to achieve the great objectives of the Charter - a United Nations capable of maintaining international peace and security, of securing justice and human rights and of promoting, in the words of the Charter, "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". This opportunity must not be squandered. The Organization must never again be crippled as it was in the era that has now passed.

4. I welcome the invitation of the Security Council, early in my tenure as Secretary-General, to prepare this report. It draws upon ideas and proposals transmitted to me by Governments, regional agencies, non-governmental organizations, and institutions and individuals from many countries. I am grateful for these, even as I emphasize that the responsibility for this report is my own.

5. The sources of conflict and war are pervasive and deep. To reach them will require our utmost effort to enhance respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to promote sustainable economic and social development for wider prosperity, to alleviate distress and to curtail the existence and use of massively destructive weapons. The United Nations Conference on Environment and

...evolution of the practice

2000s: “Peace enforcement”, “Humanitarian intervention” and the “Responsibility to Protect (R2P)”

- Militarisation of peacebuilding: use of force by external actor admitted to protect local civilians from mass violence;
- Critique: ⚡ Legitimation: “Protection by whom?”... Powerful states using “R2P” to bypass international law ⚡ Challenge to state sovereignty;
- E.g. UN humanitarian interventions in Darfur (2006) or of Côte d’Ivoire (2011)
- E.g. 2003 intervention in Iraq by US-led “Coalition of the willing”
- E.g. 2008 “Принуждение Грузии к миру” by Russian Federation

...evolution of the practice

1990: “Liberal Peace”, Democracy + economic liberalism = peace

- Post-Cold War transition of post-Soviet space, based on “new” ideology
- Developed by political scientists and IR-theorists, applied by major Western states and International Organisations in the 1990s;
- Critique: Western concept: “liberal peacebuilders” have insufficient knowledge of local context
 destabilisation by “wild capitalism”, “aggressive democracies” and “uncivil societies”
 donor-driven, lack of local ownership → lacking political will

Conflict dynamics and resolution attempts in the post-Soviet space

Conflict dynamics and resolution attempts in the post-Soviet space

Approaches to analyse and categorise conflict:

- **Quantitative approach:** quantitative information, such as death tolls and geographic scope used to distinguish “minor conflicts”, “intermediate conflicts” and “wars” (Wallensteen and Axell 1993):
- **Qualitative approach:** nature of conflict (socio-political location, causes) as a base for categorisation (Lederach 1997/2002)

Conflict dynamics and resolution attempts in the post-Soviet space

Nature of the conflicts in the post-Soviet space: identity and interests

Until 1991: “Ideological conflicts”: inter-state

1990s: “Territorial identity conflicts”: intra-state, but inter-society

2000s: “Civic identity conflicts”: intra-society

Conflict dynamics and resolution attempts in the post-Soviet space

Ideological conflicts (Cold War)

- Inter-state (bipolar international system opposing states and strategic alliances)
- based on Cold War ideology
- Latent conflicts, but relative stability in Europe/in the North (“Mutually Assured Destruction”)
- “Hot” conflicts in the South (proxy wars)

Conflict dynamics and resolution attempts in the post-Soviet space

Territorial identity conflicts (1990s)

- “Inter-society” conflicts, opposing different territorial entities, but “intra-state” → difficult to tackle by diplomatic means
- Nationalism, re-definition of identity (ethnic, religious etc.), “Matrioshka Nationalism” (Bremmer und Taras, 1993)
- Post-colonial territorial conflicts, separatism (periphery vs. core)
- Interest conflicts: disintegration and fragmentation of power; socio-economic penury
- E.g. Transnistria vs. Chisinau (1991), South Ossetia (1991-1992) and Abchasia (1992-1994) vs. Tbilisi, Nagorny Karabakh vs. Baku (1992-1994), Chechnya vs. Moscow (1994-1996); LNR/DNR vs. Kiev (since 2014)
- Peacebuilding «à la russe»: military pacification without political solution → «frozen conflicts»

Conflict dynamics and resolution attempts in the post-Soviet space

Civic identity conflicts (2000s)

- Intra-society conflicts, citizens vs. state, citizens vs. citizens
- Post-authoritarian: attempted, but not completed transition from authoritarianism to liberalism; persistent problems of corruption and inefficient administration
- Civil society requiring participation in decision-making
- E.g. “Rose Revolution” in Georgia (2003), “Orange Revolution” in Ukraine (2004-2005), “Tulip Revolution” in Kyrgyzstan (2005), “Velvet Revolution”, Uzbekistan (2005) = **“Colour revolutions”**
- E.g. “Revolution of dignity” (2013-2014) and Ukraine crisis (since 2013)

Mediation and dialogue: the track models

Types of actors

Top-leadership (military, political, religious)

Middle-range leadership (sectoral leaders, academics, national and international NGOs etc.)

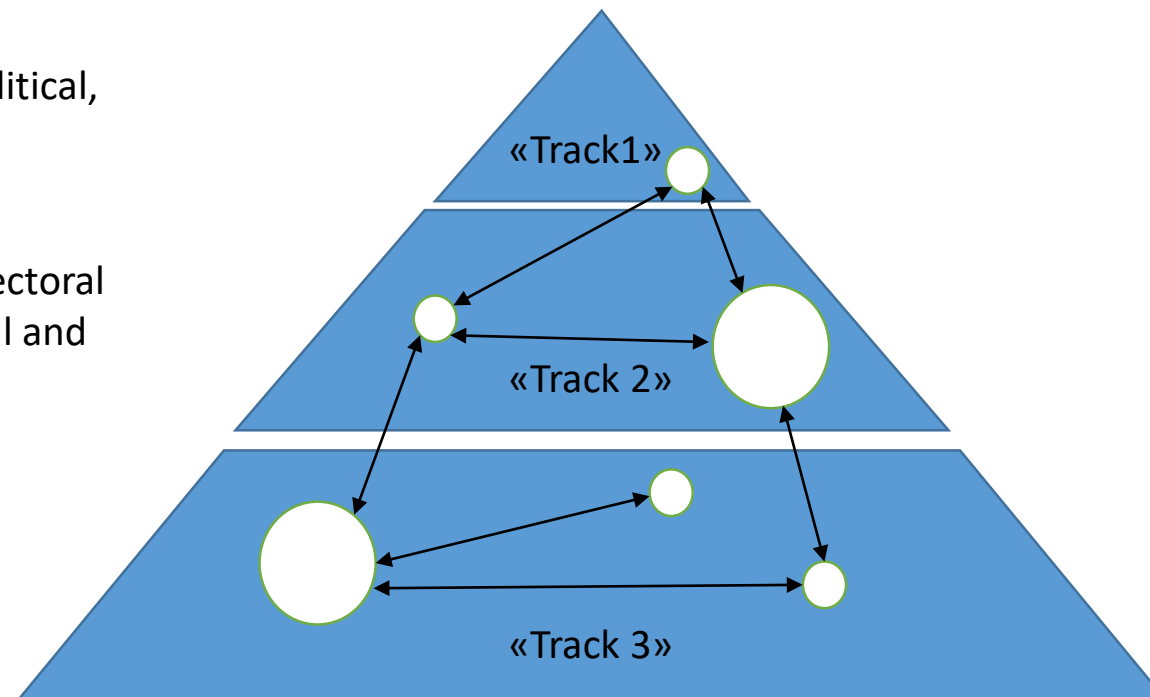
Local leaders (local NGOs, community leaders, health officials etc.)

Approaches to building peace

High-level negotiations

Dialogue, workshops and trainings

«People's diplomacy», dialogue, grassroots initiatives, «diapraxis»



Model: Actors and Approaches to Peacebuilding, the «Lederach Pyramid»

Source: Lederach, John Paul: *Building Peace – Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, 2002, p. 39

Mediation and dialogue : the “Three Tracks” Model

Track I: leadership-to-leadership peacebuilding

*“a technique of state action, [which] is essentially a process whereby communications from one government go directly to the decision-making apparatus of another” (Said and Lerche 1995) → **externally driven***

Track II: mediation and dialogue at a level of influential elites

“unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversary groups or nations that aims to develop strategies, influence public opinion [...] in ways that might help resolve their conflict” (Montville 1982)
→ externally- or internally-driven

Track III: civil society; (‘people’s diplomacy’)

*“unofficial third parties work with people from all walks of life and sectors of their society to find ways to promote peace in violent conflict” (Chigas, 2003) → **internally-driven***

The different tracks: prospects and limits

Track I mediation: no involvement of CS

Results-oriented (agreements, decision-making);

Limits: decisions are legally binding, but not automatically legitimised in society;

Track II civil society dialogue: Involvement of CS at an elite level

Results- and process-oriented: can influence track I negotiations and influence societal processes; Limits: donor-driven, not automatically legitimised in society; limited sustainability: “talk for the sake of talking”; risk of politisation;

Track III civil society dialogue: grassroots (“People’s diplomacy”)

Process-oriented (awareness-raising ,confidence-building); rooted in society; potential of conflict transformation: forming “peace constituencies”; enhancing legitimacy of peace process; Limits: limited political impact; isolation, lacking “translation” of local needs to other tracks; lack of results/visibility → lack of funding; pressure of authoritarian regimes

The different tracks: case study Ukraine

Actors

OSCE, national governments,
representatives of NGCAs of Lugansk
and Donetsk

Local government representatives,
parliamentarians, civil society leaders

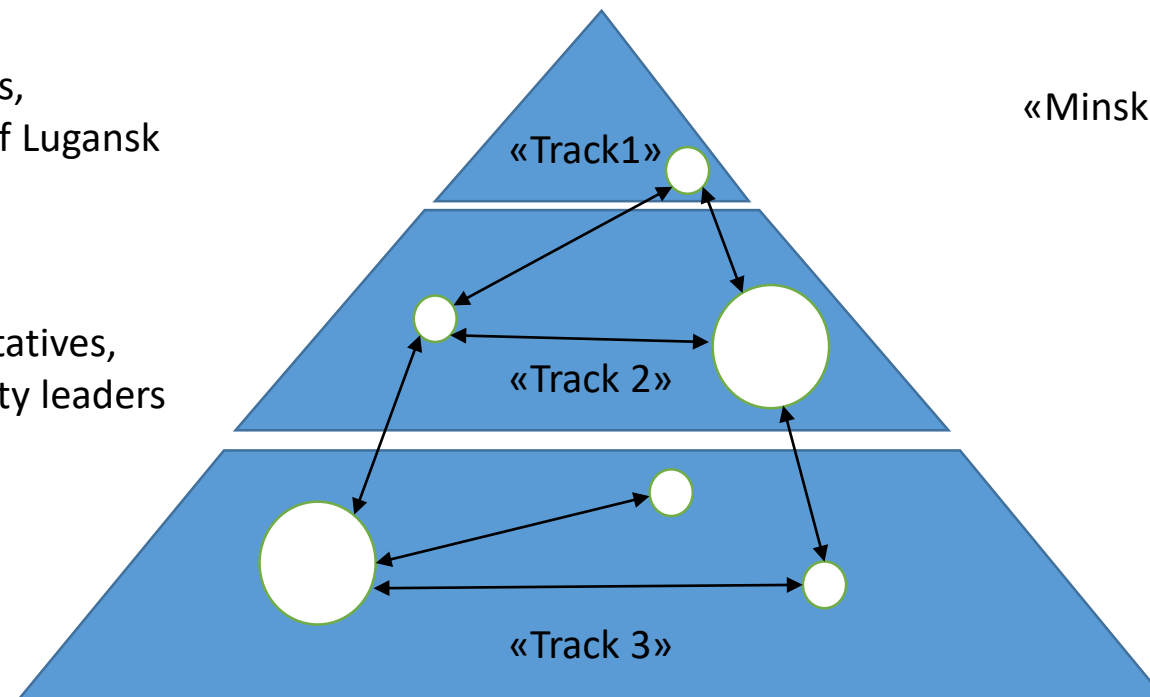
Local leaders (local NGOs,
community leaders, health
officials etc.)

Activities

«Minsk Process»: negotiation process
and signature of agreements

Expert dialogue, e.g.
CMI, HD etc.

«People's diplomacy»,
dialogue, grassroots
initiatives, «diapraxis»



Case study: The “Women Initiatives for Peace in Donbas/s” (WIPD)

- Platform for transnational dialogue and cooperation, involving those who are directly concerned by the conflict
- Following agenda of UNSCR 1325 («Women, Peace and Security»)
- Since 2014

Implemented by

- OWEN (Berlin, *Germany*)
- NGO «Ideas for Change» (Kiev, *Ukraine*)
- «Union of the Don Women»
(Novocherkassk, *Russia*)

Case study: the problems it addresses

- Alienation between the different social groups (within Ukraine and between Ukraine and Russia), strong enemy images and myths about the “other”
- Fear, frustration and unmet expectations towards official actors, including “Minsk” format.
- Limited knowledge and awareness of peacebuilding
- Lack of actors in civil society

The WIPD-platform: aims

- Inclusive peace: involvement of the affected communities and societies, all sides to get a ‘voice’
- Empowerment: civil society and women as “agents of change” (UNSCR 1325)
- Confidence-building through dialogue and diapraxis

“Diapraxis”

“...Words are not sufficient to build and transform individual relationships, nor to build bridges and transform conflicts between communities (...) Diapraxis – dialog through practice – is understood and used differently depending on the conflict contexts it is used in”.

(Jean-Nicolas Bitter 2011)

The WIPD-platform: activities

Permanent dialogue platform for women-activists. Participants are women activists from:

- Ukraine (governmentally controlled territories), including IDPs;
- Ukraine (ORDLO);
- Russia, including refugees;
- international community.

Practical cooperation projects

- «diapraxis». E.g. research&education, culture, infrastructure

Analysis

- team of sociologists evaluating group dynamic and impact of dialogue as a tool of peacebuilding

The WIPD-platform: challenges

Internal challenges:

- Physical and psychological security of participants
- Place of meetings (Minsk, Istanbul, Georgia?)
- Participation of inhabitants of non-controlled territories (ORDO and ORLO)
- Multiple levels and backgrounds of participants, challenge to find common ground

External challenges

- Confusion between «dialogue» and «negotiation» (Ukraine)
- Distrust in «peace»- and «peacebuilding»-initiatives (Ukraine)
- Repression of civil society (Russia)
- Isolation of the different «tracks» (peacebuilding community)
- Lacking interest in civil society as an actor in peacebuilding (international community)

Thank you!!